[39 cont.]
792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
796 gifts are brought after him on animals.
574

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers.
[465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351
796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is
784 called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the be-
[609] ginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the
[792] other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning
[211] may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

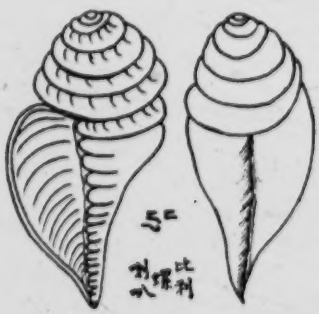

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

351 [40 cont.]
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[177]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] [792] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[751] [43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

351 [40 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.]
rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

192
792 Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gẽlõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sañ (10); šge sañ = great H.; mula sañ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsüordzi and the kānbō. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this
[778] Chinese name for everything that is
[775] the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

[41 cont.]

Prayer fee: bosë (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mäntsia (mändzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

Taboo of the compound: udie dzilā-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean. The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which young and old gather during the day. The master of the house washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since washbowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

3: Schröder--86 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate 2

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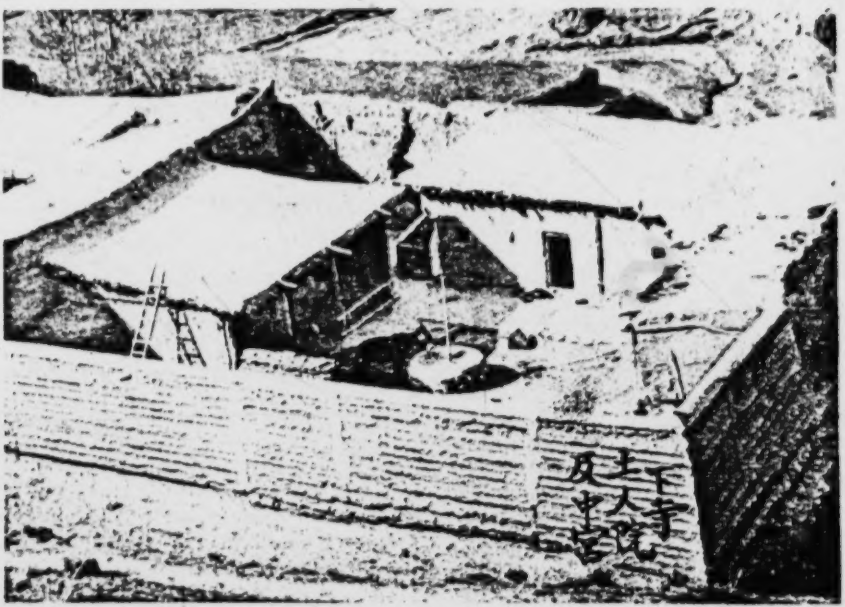
417



(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--87 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

*778
[137]
[291] a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a [782] bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342]
[351] c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. [417] (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50]

2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

353
*778 In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are [792] attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is [777] not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

3: Schröder--99 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[55] 3. The Mani-tree and the Central Fort *

* See "Notes," pp. 60-63 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

In almost every Tujen yard a mani-tree is set up in the middle of the central fort [Mittelburg] or round manger [Rundkrippe]. The mani-tree need not be erected at the same time as this central fort; it can be done later. The time is determined by the soothsayer.

The mani-tree consists of a wooden mast with a tip, which represents sun and moon. Below this tip a five-colored cover is drawn over the mast-end, and below this mast-end flies the white mani-flag.

This flag is printed in the lamic monastery. At the same time the master of the household invites a lama to raise the tree. The lama prays several days and on the last day undertakes the raising. During these days the yard is taboo. The great incense offering is presented three times daily.

At the raising, the mast is brought into the yard, placed with its tip on the central fort, and the individual parts are attached to it. Once the pole has been set up, it is fumigated, first with the red-hot stone and then with incense. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from a plate with the spear tip and throws them over the tree, and the master of the household [56] [Fig. 7 appears here] dabs the tree with butter. Then the men dig a narrow deep hole in the central fort down to the level of the ground. The soothsayer again throws some grains of barley into it with the spear, and the master of the household also strews a few incense leaves in it. Then the men set the tree in the hole and draw it up. In order to make it stand firmly, it is wedged in at the base with stones and clay. The entire operation is done under the constant supervision of the spear-god cited.

[58 cont.]

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[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

*778 782 The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the [791] [787] house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. [357] [784] [792] The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

*778 [372] Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[58 cont.]
*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse, [792] or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pen- [791] nant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no sooth- sayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Every- [357] thing is done without special ceremonies, even without an in- [784] cense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days. Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and the small mani-flag on the gate.

357 The round manger: When a new compound is laid out,
*778 a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions. [791] For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which [792] are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle, [231] to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort," for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani- pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising of a beñkañ (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted [527] white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

[59 cont.]
festive banquet; the people sing and dance around the new central fort (8).

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[527]
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8. [Foreign text p. 61.] The round manger is also commonly erected by the Chinese. The farther east one goes, however, the rarer it becomes. In any case, among the Chinese the mani-pole in the round manger is lacking, and sometimes even the structure, in other words, the manger itself. For them it is important only that an urn be buried in the center of the yard, and the construction of every compound practically begins with this burial of the urn. This spot or the round manger is called chung-kung, that is, central fort, or yüan-ts'ao, that is, round manger. The ceremony is performed by the lay bonze or by a Tao-shih, temple bonze, but usually the geomancer indicates the spot where the urn (or the urns) is to be buried. This is connected, however, with the geomantic determination of the whole compound.

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Song: After the erection of the central fort or the mani-tree, the following song is popularly sung: "If one steps through the large gate, what then is round? If one steps through the large gate, then the round manger is round; half-yaks, mules, horses form a circle, and in the middle rises the mani-tree. If one steps into the kitchen, what then is round? If one steps into the kitchen, the kettle and lid are round; cups, bowls, and dishes form a round herd, the wooden spoon rises up in the middle. If one steps into the main house, what then is round? If one steps into the main house, the fire basin is round. Relatives and friends sit around it, and in the middle the wine jar rises up."

[59 cont.]

*778 [777] [772] Meaning: The mani-tree guarantees good fortune and peace for the household, yard, and people. The air-horse is a symbol of fate. On its back it bears the precious stone of good fortune: nuru. The tree represents the world-mountain. Around its peak circle sun, moon, and stars, and below lies the world with the people, with house and yard and herds (9).

●[351]

9. [Foreign text pp. 61-62.] This explanation by the informant indicates that only with the raising of the mani-pole is the compound complete, part of the world order, as is also expressed in other songs. It is based upon the Lamaistic conception of the world, according to which the world-mountain is in the center and everything else is situated around it. Among the lamas one always finds this interpretation, as it is presented symbolically in the monogram found everywhere, the nantšu wãńdãh. To be sure, the Tujen know nothing of the detailed interpretations of this monogram (cf. Note 3), nor of the parallel between this cosmic interpretation and the human body. -- Here it should also be noted that in this symbol the flat disk under the moon sickle is lacking, and furthermore that the colors are different; the small flame on the sun is green, the sun itself white, the moon sickle red; cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, pp. 160-161.

[192]

[62] The word sdzi-ńkuor and the informant's translation, "center-round," phonetically and semantically give precisely the Tibetan word dkyil 'k'or; cf. DMF, p. 387, and Ch. Das, p. 56.

[68 cont.]

192 *778 The game is cared for by the mountain-spirit: lawdzë udaġladzän sōwa (or fsüärëġwa) = birds (or game) are ruled by the obo.

The dog of the mountain-spirit (wolf): yifulani noxuę.
The old people relate legends: šdogu kunsgë xuęńge gulie-.
Whose legends are many: kăni xuę uluona?
Large and small drink barley wine: šge mulā dërasēńgë udzi-.
Today is good: niudurġuo dur sēna.
In conviviality let us sit together: suġdzieńge sōldeya!
One does not know today what tomorrow will be: niudurë malõńguni li mudien.
With death it is all over: fugugë bura dzia.
We come into the world for nothing: ndziġdienë (8) [see Note 8 above]) arãń nigë huę rëdziā- (nigë xue = once).

[Pages 68-71 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[71] 5. The Chorten Chamber*

*778 346

* See "Notes," pp. 77-79 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[621] [351] In each Tujen village and sometimes also in individual compounds there is a chorten chamber. The actual name is hundred-thousand-house. This chamber looks like a small temple without doors. In it there are several sacred urns, which are buried under 100,000 small clay cones. In this cone-mountain is stuck the column of the sky, which is covered with all kinds of blessing-formulas.

192 [849 cont.]
789 Raven's feather: kẽrie fõdẽ.
He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzẽrẽ ilieni xuarladzia.
[778] Horse's skull: mori tolg̃uẽ yãsẽ.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgẽdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]
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4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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[192]
[789]

1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõn̂ in rdzõn̂wa is the same as in dzõn̂rẽ. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

Report

[756] In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

[789] Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold
[351] down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for
[784] all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, depending upon the sickness involved.

[852 cont.] 5. The Washing of the Sick

Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756 shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
787] as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held flat, and prophesies which illness is involved; then he undertakes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on
[351 the following day and, depending on the declaration of the
784] shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones, a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
755 gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household
756 lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
[787 shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword, while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle, and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it. Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as
[783 proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen. The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the
[787 sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.] fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmaṇi. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

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Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama. [791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches [357] [784] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.] As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In [192] Kumbum the urns are usually called beṅba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdër-wĕm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sĕnoġ-dër (cf. section, [778] "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure.

urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

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777

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions. They make a small torma which one takes out into the open and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying. One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 792 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at least another week.

[784] [357]

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791] 1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõñgba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance prescriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[562]

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer. [791]

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791] [792] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

778 782 [792] [351] [784] Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma, as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune-torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion

[864 cont.]

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[357]
[171]

[Note on foreign text pp.867-868 cont.] soldered into the ladling spoon for the liquid butter. -- The significance of the peonies corresponds to the custom of the lamaseries and of the Chinese, among whom peony shrubs of various colors are planted in the yard. Tujen and Chinese believe that a wealthy, affluent man always has a peony shrub before his door. -- Instead of the peony, lotus blossoms are painted in the case of the ground-drawing of the crematory. These represent the lotus on which the Buddha supposedly sat and from which the flames of transformation emanate. Cf. the chapter on cremation.

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792
[333]
[532]

Now the men build a low wall with clay bricks on one side of the figure, while the lama says his prayers. This wall is terrace-shaped. The lower layer consists of two rows of bricks laid lengthwise; the second layer takes half the brick, and the third layer has only one brick. The whole wall, in other words, is six clay bricks high. The front and back side is coated with clay and lime and whitewashed. The vertical terraces remain free. With his pattern the lama again draws a thunderbolt on each of them, in other words, five thunderbolts altogether. This wall is to protect the lama from the fire, since at the pouring he is seated on level ground or only very slightly elevated (5). After the drawing, the lama again withdraws into the house for prayer.

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5. [Foreign text p. 868.] There are also walls with four to six steps. According to the statements of others, the wall also bears the color of the fire-pouring concerned, and the ground-drawing likewise.

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 782 752 [757] [341] [292] [534] [778] [142] a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter, "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festival, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest Festivals.")

782 792 292 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring. Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death position in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photograph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical. Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

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(continuation of text)

782 792 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire. The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] [784] [333] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards, the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed. The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[209 cont.]

772 778 [614] [357] time, an inner significance cannot be denied to it. The air-horse is the symbol and the guarantor of the destiny of the family, of the kin group. Human destiny, however, is fitted into the course of the world, just as the kin-group compound occupies its place in the world-structure. According to Tujen conception, a compound is not "complete" if the central fort and mani-tree are lacking. Through them the living space of the kin group is given conformity with the living space of the other living beings.

The world is no rigid schema, however; this is proved by the significance of the arrow of good fortune. In its way, the arrow of good fortune also represents the world: the [210] urn symbolizes the earth with its fruit; the arrow, the connecting column to the sky. Frequently four other arrows corresponding to the four directions of the compass are added to the central arrow. The vital force in the arrow of good fortune is new and not observable in the other world-representations (central fort, mandala, etc.). The germs of things, the force of increase and of life, are conjured into it. It guarantees wealth, good fortune, and a full life. The tufts of hair from the animals and the grain in the urn signify that these things will not be lost to the owner even when he has sold them. The oracle-toys of the children on the arrow guarantee the development of the young person in the corresponding direction; the hairs and threads of clothing from the bride insure that despite the loss of the daughter her good fortune will not escape. The dynamism of the world is expressed on the arrow of good fortune, whereas on the mandala (central fort, etc.), more the fixed order. Here, however, the cosmic force, the sap of life, and germinal base are not to be conceived as mana, but are to be derived from their connection with the superposed heaven. The astral, heavenly order is not only the model of its earthly mirror-image; it also imparts to the world its force, which permeates both. The references in the chapter on the arrow of good fortune already offer several indications of this. These conceptions can still be pursued much further. Their threads are quite tangled; they extend back to very early cultural forms and are linked with the oldest kind of communication between heaven and earth. Old forms of sacrifice and having the deities present are linked

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Chuang Lang. Ju Kao went to call on him. He was invited to dinner, and highly praised by the governor.

The empire was at peace, the troops at rest. Ju Kao executed the orders of his superiors, and controlled his subjects according to the law. According to the seasons he examined farming and the culture of mulberry trees. In his spare time he planted flowers and bamboos and studied calligraphy, in the clerical style, according to the principles of the scholars of the Chin and T'ang dynasties. He was able to write letters as big as the elbow. Most of the inscriptions in our mansions, temples, monasteries, and shops are products of his pencil and admired as gifts of his hand and his artistic talent.

He died in 1891 at the age of sixty-four and received posthumously the title of Cheng-wei-chiang-chun. His wife, the noble Khoshot lady, guarded the seals. She cared for the orphan and controlled the clan. She was intelligent and strong minded.

In 1896 the Mohammedans of Ho Chou and Hsining revolted again. Destitute people fled to Lien Ch'eng. The lady provided them with board and lodging and distributed alms and repaired the city walls. She was clever and was feared and loved by the subjects. Nobody dared to vex her.

She had no children. However, there were three boys of concubines. The first one, Tan Tseng, became a lama, the second one, Yang, died at the time he was adult, the third, Shu, succeeded to the hereditary duty. The lady died at forty-six years of age and received the title of tseng (great-grandmother) Fujen. She was buried at Shang Hsiang T'ang.[10]

FOUNDATION OF A SECOND CLAN WITHIN THE LU CLAN

To the study of the Genealogical Register, the biographies and history of the Lu clan, is to be added a note about the founding of a second clan within the Lu clan.

T'o Huan, at the time of his submission to the Ming dynasty, was ordered to settle with his subjects in the country of Chuang Lang, which he had occupied during the Yuan dynasty. Accordingly, he was the recognized

[10] According to the Chronicles of the Lu clan Ju Kao, born in 1830, succeeded as t'u-ssu in 1850 or 1852 and received the diploma of his incumbency only in 1883. He died in 1891 or in 1893.

His wife, a Khoshot lady, died without issue in 1895.

Ju Kao had three sons born by concubines. The third son, Shu, born in 1876 succeeded his father in 1897. Here end the Chronicles.

In 1916 the widow of Shu, also a Khoshot lady, arrived at Hsining imploring General Ma K'o-ch'eng to accept the "dry fatherhood" of her son. A few days later the boy arrived at Hsining to acknowledge his "dry father," his protector. Certainly Shu had died before 1916, leaving a son. The wife of Shu, the Khoshot lady, hoping to see the son succeed her late husband as t'u-ssu, made a trip to Hsining to secure the protection of General Ma K'o-ch'eng, and the realization of her desire.

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/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174

sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 648 175 311

The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342

The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351]

The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [343]

M [231]

M [592] [594]

The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

M [354] [352]

N *563 M 342 591 592

The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside.

M [351] [182] [353] [352] Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is

M [252] always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known

M [144] as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit.

M [412] Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some